

PEACE NEWS

No. 403 March 3, 1944 2d.

Those DISUNITED STATES

by JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

DEMOCRACY is a queer bird: and it can behave in surprising ways. But the most surprising of all its antics is being performed in the United States of America just now. In open defiance of President Roosevelt's recommendation that the serving soldiers in the US forces shall be allowed to vote in the forthcoming Presidential election, the Senate and the Congress have combined to reject the proposal.

Behind this extraordinary proceeding there is a mixture of motives: the plainest to see are all disreputable. Admittedly the chief is the well-grounded fear that the Service-men, estimated at 10 millions, will vote in favour of Roosevelt. Hatred of Roosevelt has reached an extremity of violence quite outside the Englishman's experience. It was bad enough seven or eight years ago, when I was last in USA. Even then comparatively quiet-looking and mild-mannered men in Pullman cars were liable to what looked like apoplexy when I politely (and naively) asked them: "What do you think of the New Deal?" Now that the Republicans have a chance of getting back again, the hatred has become almost pathological. Rather than run the risk of a majority of Service votes bringing Roosevelt in, his political opponents deliberately disfranchise the Service man.

Then there is the equally disreputable motive of the Southern Democrats. They have succeeded, by persistent chicanery, in effectually disfranchising the negro in most of the Southern States. They are bitterly opposed to any measure that would enfranchise him in his new capacity as a serving-soldier. Between the two motives the deliberate stultification of democracy has every chance of succeeding. It will be a portentous achievement.

Straws in the Wind

To enlarge on the rank injustice of it is quite unnecessary. But as an omen of the future it is of immediate concern to Englishmen. There have been many straws to show the way the wind is blowing in American politics—some of them as big as telegraph posts in a tornado. This last enormity corroborates the evidence of all the others. Political animosities in USA are reaching such a pitch of extravagance that it is a toss-up whether Democracy itself can survive. The irresponsibility of Congress (e.g. in the matter of war-taxation) is quite staggering, and only to be explained as the product of a positively hysterical suspicion of Franklin Roosevelt and all his works.

The Presidential veto on the tax-bill and the spectacular rejection of it by Congress and Senate may appear to be merely a revival of the age-old conflict between Executive and Legislative in USA. But times change. The Executive has to be more powerful today: and the continuance of the old conflict may well mean anarchy. This necessary strengthening of the Executive is the root of the conflict. But there are two minor, but singularly efficient causes of the extravagant hatred of Roosevelt. First, his systematic backing of organized Labour: and second, his attempt to secure some sort of equality for the negro. The former has inflamed the business mentality everywhere; the

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PREMIER THROWS AWAY CHANCE TO LEAD EUROPE

CHURCHILL'S speech on Feb. 22 was that of a man who is, in McGovern's words, "being remorselessly driven along a road on which he cannot stop." Churchill has never had a real grip of the issues of this war. But he has believed he had. For a leader to be certain, even of illusions, makes for confidence in the led. And Churchill's rhetoric had about it an élan which inspired a people hardly more ignorant than himself.

Britain was in the old traditional posture—fighting with its back to the wall, hanging on grimly like the bulldog, and the rest. The clichés of our past were on the stage again, "for positively the last performance." History was repeating itself. And so was Churchill.

But now that the equivocal end is in sight, the rhetoric falters. As the mirage fades and the desert of future reality reveals itself, Churchill's ringing metaphors would sound "cracked" the ring. Since he has an ear for these things, he does not use them. His speech was what even his devotees would call "uninspired." An under-secretary might have said it all. To judge from the military statistics an under-secretary did say most of it.

Moral Bankruptcy

IT was a plain declaration of moral bankruptcy in face of the bill to be presented. In the Daily Mail on the day before the speech, Alastair Forbes wrote:

"Germany has long blared to a tired and troubled Europe that the Atlantic Charter was a cynical propaganda swindle. If this is true, Europe's long-awaited and bloody liberation will be bitter indeed."

"If on the other hand it is denied by the Prime Minister in a firm and vigorous statement of Britain's duty and obligations to the Europe which rightly saw in him its saviour in 1940, it will be 'quite like old times again'."

"If Britain is to stand by while the principles for which she stood alone in those old times are abandoned, if she buries the Atlantic Charter as victory draws nearer, there will be no victory. Never has the world so eagerly awaited a speech from Mr. Churchill."

Never, we must conclude, has "the world" been so bitterly disappointed.

Lost Reputation

CHURCHILL was unable to say a single decisive or directive word about the future of Europe. That inability may not have been noticed by the man in the street. Nevertheless, "The sweet war man is dead and rotten."

For this war has meaning only as politics. Churchill's radical weakness has been the eternal adolescence for which politics had meaning only as war. He has consummated his career. Truly there never has been such a war as this in which he has cavorted.

His remark: "Quite like old times" was a tell-tale revelation of his nostalgia for the crowded hour of romantic war. To feed the flames of this retrogressive ecstasy the future of Britain and Europe have been sacrificed. Now the flames themselves grow dim. That Churchill's reputation is ashes is no consolation at all, for the ashes of Churchill's reputation are the ashes of this country's also.

Shocking Duplicity

HIS speech was conspicuous for its conscious surrender of moral principles formerly proclaimed. We are now told that the Atlantic Charter does not apply to Germany, the enemy; and that it does not apply to Poland, the ally. Since the Atlantic Charter obviously did apply to all nations, the moral surrender is entire and abject. Clause II ran:

"They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned."

If Churchill had simply said that Britain was powerless to prevent such territorial changes being forced upon Poland one could respect him. But not at all.

"Marshal Stalin and I also spoke upon the need for Poland to obtain compensation at the expense of Germany in the north and in the west."

The duplicity is shocking to the conscience. It is not merely a blatant

repudiation of the Atlantic Charter, but an act of gross treachery to an ally.

The British newspapers, rightly described by Mr. Pickthorn during the debate as "now inferior to those of almost any other country," gloze over the surrender. The innocent who reads them on the subject of Churchill's speech would believe that nothing had happened. He will not read the remarkable series of critical speeches which followed it in the House, of which Mr. Pickthorn's own was one. The best of them voiced one common concern: for the honour of this country.

National Honour

THERE can be few of us—however outcast from the nation at war we may be—who are not sensitive where the national honour, in the true sense, is concerned: the honour that demands that the pledged word of the nation should be kept, at all costs. That involves us all. It is the pledged

Observer's Commentary

word of the nation that is now being broken; and Mr. Churchill pretends it is not.

But if the national press (with the honourable exception of The Observer, Feb. 27) keeps silence, various members of the House of Commons did not. Capt. Graham, Mr. Pickthorn, Mr. Bellenger, Mr. Strauss, Mr. Stokes, Mr. McGovern all spoke courageously.

"Let us, therefore, take whatever aid we can from any allies against the Germans, but not such aid as can only be taken by the sacrificing of our own honour, because that is a sacrifice of our own honour, and then, when the day of reckoning comes to us, as sooner or later it surely must, we shall not then have or deserve a single friend in the world."

That was Capt. Graham, on our conduct towards Poland.

The Real Danger

MR. HOPKINSON too, "the elder Cato of the House," got under the skin with "one of his strange, sincere, crabbed speeches." (New Statesman, Feb. 26.)

"We are accustomed in this House to worry ourselves quite unnecessarily, about the effect

of the war on the enemy... What does worry me is the effect of the war upon ourselves. The question whether we really win this war or not depends simply on this: At the end of this war, shall we be obviously a better nation than the Germans, or shall we be such that there will be considerable doubt as to which of us ought to have won... ?

"Because your enemy happens to be a nasty brute, is it really logical that you yourself should be a still more nasty brute? We are making this war to prevent ourselves from becoming like the Germans. If we really become like the Germans, it seems to me that the enemy at the end of this war can say that he has won and not us."

So much for the honour of the country.

Morality of Bombing

MR. HOPKINSON then pierced still further home with his words on the honour of the Air Force:

"For many years I have knocked about a great deal with the men of the Air Force, and I venture to say that nobody who has done that can have anything but a real love for that Force. Let us look back to 1940 and what we call the Battle of Britain, when there was war in Heaven and Michael and his angels fought with the Dragon, and the Dragon fought with his angels, but prevailed not. There was no doubt in that battle that we were on the side of Michael and the enemy was on the side of the Dragon. But look what we have done for the enemy now: we have put him and those youngsters of his on the right side, and we have put those youngsters of ours on the wrong side..."

"There is a clear-cut issue here. I think it goes to the whole root of what we are fighting for: and if it is decided, for military or other reasons, that bombers are to go on their errand, we should at least see that such aircraft are manned, not with the best of our youngsters, but with us older men, who possibly can do that horrid work without irreparable injury to ourselves."

"At All Costs"

HIS honour rooted in dishonour stood; that is Tennyson's word about Sir Lancelot. Today our honour stands rooted in dishonour. Our honour—and our power to lead Europe—as Mr. Pickthorn said, "depends more on plain moral rectitude than even upon strategic situations—much more. There is this other difference between moral rectitude and the strategic situation—the one is wholly within our power and the other is not."

That which was in our power to preserve Churchill has thrown away: for the sake of victory. Victory at all costs. At the cost of exceeding the Germans themselves in the barbarism of our bombing. At the cost of breaking our voluntary pledges to all the world. At the cost of betraying an ally.

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Advice to Those About to be Bombed

"THE whole of this air offensive constitutes the foundation upon which our plans for overseas invasion stand. Scales and degrees of attack will be reached far beyond the dimensions of anything which has yet been employed or, indeed, imagined.

"The idea that we should fetter or further restrict the use of this prime instrument for shortening the war will not be accepted by the governments of the Allies. The proper course for German civilians and non-combatants is to quit the centres of munition production and take refuge in the countryside. We intend to make war production in its widest sense impossible in all German cities, towns and factory centres.

"Retaliation by the enemy has, so far, been modest, but we must expect it to increase. Hitler has great need to exaggerate his counter-attacks in order to placate his formerly deluded population; but besides these air attacks there is no doubt that the Germans are preparing on the French shore new means of attack on this country, either by pilotless aircraft or, possibly rockets, or both, on a considerable scale."

So said Mr. Churchill in the Commons on Feb. 22. Are the British people—when the increased retaliation comes—to adopt "the proper course" recommended to the Ger-

mans, and "quit the centres of munitions production and take refuge in the countryside"?

★

A PROTEST against "the Allied bombing programme of blotting German cities area by area," drafted by the Rev. J. Nevill Sayre (secretary of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation) has been signed by fifteen British and American clergymen in the USA. It has been cabled to Lord Lang, former Archbishop of Canterbury, in support of his recent speech on bombing in the House of Lords.

SYMBOLIC

THIS fortnight's contributions to the Peace News Fund include two gifts which seem to me symbolic. The one is from a member of my old college at Oxford; the other from a waiter who has put aside all the 3d. pieces he received as tips over a long period.

That is evidence of the nature of our movement: at once catholic (with a small "c") and personal, and both together. It is a movement towards the creation of a personal society: in which the best relation between persons shall determine the quality of the more abstract social relations, instead of it being the other way about. Pacifism in that sense has universal validity: and it will have a universal appeal. The Peace News Fund gives it the wherewithal to make the appeal.

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THE EDITOR

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PACIFISTS AND THE LAND

AT the recent inter-Area conference of the PPU (a report of which we publish on page 3), the group which reported on agriculture agreed:

"That nationalization of the land was essential; that the gap between people in the towns and country must be bridged; and that it must be realized that the land lay at the root of our economy."

That is an altogether inadequate reflection of the considerable thought which pacifists have given to agriculture. Equally, it is an inadequate reflection of the experience of agriculture which has come to many of them. Work on the land has, after all, been the distinctively novel experience of pacifists during this war. This abstract resolution shows little sign of having profited by it. It might have come from any urban socialist group at any time before the war. Pacifists can do, and many of them are doing, better than that.

Nationalizing the land can mean almost anything. Lord Portsmouth advocates it, so does Mr. Gallacher. They mean totally different things. For a good many years now "nationalization" has been the narcotic slogan by which socialism has saved itself the trouble of thinking. When in doubt, nationalize. But suppose the land were "nationalized" tomorrow, the real problems of agriculture would be unaffected. Their solution depends upon what is done with the land afterwards. For example, will the day-to-day practice of agriculture be controlled by national officials performing the function of the land-agent on a big estate? Will the tenant-farmers merely become the tenants of the State? In that case there might be little change in present practice. One advantage might be that funds for the capital re-equipment of the land would be available on easy terms. To offset this the State land-agent would be as compared with the private land-agent more academic and abstract, and more powerful. Local courts of appeal from his judgment would be absolutely necessary.

But what of the owner-occupier, from farmer to small-holder—the successor to the yeoman who won Britain her liberties? Is he alone among agriculturists to be expropriated? Perhaps he should be; but no-one who knows anything about the land will pay the least respect to a bald demand for land-nationalization that does not argue the case on its real merits. So far from building a bridge between the people of country and town, the adoption by pacifists of this pink dogmatism will deepen the existing gulf.

In fact, the agreed findings show that the group's thought about agriculture is based neither on real experience of agriculture, nor on investigation into the kind of social philosophy which is implicit in pacifism. To establish the right relation between the individual and the State may be the Dickens of a business. But seekers after a pacifist social philosophy must be prepared to do the hard and revolutionary thinking it entails. The one thing they must avoid is to give the impression that they have naively taken over the shop-soiled stock of State-socialism. That can only bring pacifism into contempt as a jumble of contradictions.

For pacifists to advocate land-nationalization, without saying precisely what they mean in terms of the actual use and management of the land and the status of the farmer, discredits the quality of pacifist thought, and is unrepresentative of some of the most distinctive experience of pacifists today. Many of them believe that pacifism and agriculture stand in a peculiarly intimate relation with each other: such that pacifists may have the clue to the renaissance of agriculture; and agriculture the clue to the renaissance of pacifism. That idea may be exaggerated: it has yet fully to stand the test of experiment. And it is undesirable that pacifists whose convictions point that way should be dogmatic. But it is much more undesirable that pacifists, when gathered in conference, should show no awareness even of the existence of their ideas.

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Does "Full Employment" Mean INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION?

THERE is not, and there never has been an Unemployment Problem. There are several unemployment problems.

The solution of some of these would be made easier if the Minister of Labour had power in peace, as in war, compulsorily to direct people into (and out of) particular jobs. But in others this power would be no help at all.

It would, for example, be no help in so far as unemployment arises from the number of jobs of all kinds being less than the number of people looking for work. Direction is useless unless there are vacancies to which people can be sent: nothing is gained by directing them from unemployment in one place or trade to unemployment in another place or trade.

In its worst phases, this kind of unemployment, which is due to insufficiency of the total demand for labour, is the most widespread and disastrous of all. About the year 1933 there were some 3 million men and women in this country, and perhaps 30 million in the world, without work. As things were then there was nothing and nowhere to which they could have been directed. A remedy could have been found (if governments had been willing to spend in peace as they spend in war, though not necessarily on anything like the same scale). But the remedy plainly was not direction of labour.

A second kind of unemployment arises from the square-peg-round-hole problem. The vacancies are there, but the unemployed are in the wrong industries or districts. Dockers may be out of work at Cardiff when tram conductors are wanted in Brighton.

Here powers of compulsory transfer obviously make things easier—at least in those cases in which the peg and the hole do not differ too violently. Many dockers would conduct trams admirably with very little training; but they could not be so quickly and easily transformed into, say, dentists, or even electricians. The war, however, has shown that people can learn things very quickly when they want to or have to. A really drastic power of conscripting (which is only the plain name for the euphemism "directing") and training anybody into anything would probably make short work of this kind of unemployment.

But to say that direction is the easiest solution is far from saying that, in time of peace, it is the best. On the contrary it is most objectionable. To be compelled under threat of fine or imprisonment to take a particular job is very near slavery.

Happily, however, it cannot be said that this objectionable method is necessary for full employment. Here there are several points to be noted.

First, it is remarkable how, when

the jobs are available anywhere at all, people do manage to get into them. The experience of the later years of the 1914 war and still more significantly of the first eighteen months of the subsequent peace is instructive in this context. A few months after demobilization, unemployment fell to very low figures. The pegs were just as round and the holes just as square as they will be after this war is over; but the jobs were going, and people found them, without direction. Indeed, all through the inter-war period industrial mobility has been much greater than is often believed. People only stop moving when there is nowhere to move to.

Second, the distinctive feature of war economics is urgency. The character of the demand for labour

BARBARA WOOTTON,

author and research worker for the Labour and Trades Union movement, discusses

Is "Direction" Really Necessary?

undergoes a sudden and tremendous revolution, and compulsory direction may well be the only possible way of bringing about corresponding changes in supply sufficiently quickly.

But the changes of peace (arising from new fashions or inventions), though faster than they used to be, are still much more leisurely than the upheavals of total war. That means that, instead of dragging middle-aged men and women out of the jobs to which they have been accustomed for many years, it may be sufficient merely to divert their sons and daughters from following in the parental footsteps.

This is one of the cases where one may say that while there is death (and retirement) there is hope. Every industry in the course of nature suffers its regular annual wastage. As the demand for engineers falls, and the demand for builders rises after the war, the sensible plan will be to apprentice young people to building rather than to engineering. Engineering will then wither away sufficiently of itself.

This does not, of course, mean that we must direct the young, and leave their elders free to pick and choose.

LETTERS

Scottish Nationalism

I NOTICE that however much Henry Hilditch opposes the war-supporters of the Government, he hates the anti-Government (and largely anti-war, myself for example) supporters of Scottish Nationalism more.

Can it be that he sees in Scottish Radical Republicanism the force that will eventually destroy the British ascendancy and all that it stands for, and hates it for that reason? But though he still clings to the old tale, re-told to suit the times in the latest Aesopian language, he should at least, if he cannot see the merits of his opponents, refrain from libelling them, thus bringing the principles for which he claims to stand into ill repute.

There is no fascism in the Scottish movement. As for hatred of Englishmen among the rank-and-file, there isn't—that's all that can be said. And the accusation about "cheap slogans and catchpenny promises" is a cheap jibe itself without justification either in tone or in content.

I hope that none of your English readers will be misled by this cowardly attack on a movement which has consistently opposed tyranny and upheld freedom.

A. CLARK SMITH,

Hon. Sec., Scottish Socialist Party,
77 Dryburgh Av., Rutherglen, Glasgow.

Men, Women and War

MARY Gamble is undoubtedly right in allying woman's loss of her full womanhood with the spiritual breakdown of man. In its bearing on this particular point a letter written by Max Plowman in 1940 might interest your readers. The rejection of a manuscript submitted to The Adelphi on the subject of Woman and War was its occasion, and it ran as follows:

"I think there's lots in this that is true; but that part of it needs saying in a very different tone—much soberer, more considered and more questioning."

"But fundamentally I don't believe it because I believe Blake spoke the profounder truth when he said 'Let the men but do their duty and women will be such wonders.' I do not believe that woman is 'the spiritual fountain of the world': on the contrary woman is the earth out of which man the tree grows and uprooted man standing on his head is not in a position to blame the earth if it grows to weed. In short if man, the spiritual initiator, cannot carry out his duty and turns to war therefore, woman is left to inherit a desert, and there she can only howl."

I hope, Sir, you may not now be inundated with letters listing all the useful things women can do to help rebuild the desert of Europe.

DOROTHY FLOWMAN

Correction

The article in Peace News last week headed "Beware of Atrocities" states that The Times was the only national paper which published the subsequent report of the Anzio beach-head bombing. This is completely erroneous. It appeared in the following papers on Feb. 16: News Chronicle, page 1, col. 7; Daily Herald, page 4, col. 3; Daily Express, page 4, col. 4. It was not published in the Daily Telegraph because their report did not infer it was deliberate. The Daily Mail did not publish the first report so there was no need to print the later version. The Manchester Guardian was the only paper which gave the first report saying it was deliberate and did not publish the amended version. This is somewhat surprising for the M.G.

WILLIAM F. HOOD

52 Blackhorse Rd., London, E.17.

FRIENDS' PEACE APPEAL

"The practice of war is inconsistent with Christ's teaching. Therefore, in view of the increasing cruelties of the present conflict, we urge all to examine their consciences, as to whether they can any longer support the continuance of this evil. We urge all who love humanity to call for an immediate truce."—Appeal issued by the Warwick, Leicester and Stafford Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends.

The utmost that should be necessary (always supposing that the problem of keeping up an adequate total demand for labour has been solved, as it can and must be) is to close recruitment in certain trades in certain circumstances. It is unfair to everybody that an industry which is in process of contraction should be allowed freely to take on fresh workers at the expense of those who have been there all their lives.

To prevent this we should need compulsory notification of vacancies through the Employment Exchange, at least for young people and preferably for everybody; and power to forbid people not already connected with an industry or trade to take employment in that industry or trade. This is a very mild affair compared with power to order people into or out of irrespective of their wishes.

Even so, if people do not get around quickly enough, there are further possibilities. Some people do not wish to exercise much choice about their work. It is partly a matter of temperament, and partly of family circumstances and ties.

There is a good deal to be said for allowing those who feel like this special privileges (such as a guarantee of full wages whether they are actually working or not) in return for their undertaking to be "directed" to any work for which they may be wanted. Such an obligation should not of course be permanent, or irrevocable for a term of years like enlistment in the army. It should be an ordinary contract terminable with due notice at any time—for instance, when a man wanted to settle down and marry. This would provide a very useful element of mobility in our labour supply; and it would be entirely voluntary.

But it all comes back to this: the only kinds of unemployment for which direction could be any help are secondary. The real task is to make sure that there are enough jobs to go round.

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IMPLICATIONS OF PACIFISM

A PPU inter-Area conference on the social and economic implications of pacifism was held in London on Feb. 19 and 20. Representatives from London, Southern, South-Eastern, and Berks-Bucks-and-Oxon Areas were present, and the chair was taken by Dr. Alex Wood.

The Rev. G. Lloyd Phelps, opening the first session, said that we must recognize the modification of the structure of capitalist society whereby laissez-faire capitalism has given place to monopoly capitalism. We were now moving towards a society in which, as R. H. Tawney had said, "the choice was no longer between competition and control, but between a monopoly that was responsible and one that was irresponsible."

The most obvious result had been the undermining of political democracy by irresponsible centres of economic power in the community. Other dangerous elements were the "controls," which were taking over State machinery instead of the State controlling monopoly. The classic conditions for inflation existed; and thanks to modern inventions the control of public opinion was in the hands of a few men who wanted power without responsibility.

The prospects were that monopoly capitalism would be stronger after the war; there was a new alignment in the class struggle, in which the trades unions, far from being revolutionary, collaborated with the employers, the result tending towards a corporate State on the Italian model. A planned society was inevitable, the only open question being whether it was to be planned for scarcity or plenty.

The power of monopoly capitalism could only be broken if key enterprises such as the basic industries were made corporations, and major industries liable to become monopolies were under the control of an industrial board. The smaller industries should be allowed to associate, but not to fix their own prices and to produce only a limited rate of profit.

On the Sunday morning the conference separated into four groups to discuss: (1) industrial production; (2) agriculture; (3) economic security and individual freedom; and (4) centralization and decentralization.

The first group agreed that the control of capital and the issue of credit were the fundamental necessities; and that concurrently it was necessary to break down monopoly in the basic industries. Nationalization was not necessarily the solution to the problem, for it was only by socialization that labour would have any share in the management of industry. The needs of the consumer would be best made known by some form of local consumers' councils, under the control of a central planning commission.

The second group had agreed that nationalization of the land was essential; that the gap between people in the towns and the country people must be bridged; and that it must be realized that the land lay at the root of our economy.

The third group agreed that capitalism can give a measure of economic security, but only at the cost of freedom, and that although socialism does not guarantee freedom it does

PROSECUTION OF FIRE-GUARD C.O.s REVEALS

"Cat-and-Mouse" Still Possible

MINISTRY MAY ISSUE NEW ORDER

AT St. Albans police court on Feb. 24, Hugh W. Mellor, a Quaker and Friends Relief Service worker, was prosecuted for failing to register on a supplementary registration held locally under the Fire Guard (Local Authority Services) Order, 1943. He had already been prosecuted in December, 1942, for failing to register under the Civil Defence Duties (Compulsory Enrolment) Order, 1942 and, in view of the fact that he was doing voluntary fire-watching at the Citizens Advice Bureau and Friends' Meeting House, he was fined one shilling.

A solicitor instructed by the Central Board for C.O.s stated that Hugh Mellor was still doing voluntary fire-guard duty and that the Ministry of Home Security had indicated that, in drawing up the recent Orders, it was intended to give relief to those who refused to register but were carrying out the requisite duties. As this object had not clearly been attained, the Ministry intended to bring out an amending Order to make the position clear.

In the meantime the Ministry had circular-

ized local authorities informing them of the position and advising them not to prosecute for not registering (or for not "reporting") that they were not registered) those who had already been prosecuted for not registering under a previous Order. In the present case this advice had been disregarded and the case was technical and without substance.

After the Bench had retired to consider the legal position, the Chairman announced that the defendant had pleaded guilty to the charge and would be fined half-a-crown.

Immediately afterwards Kenneth H. Sibley, also of St. Albans, a political C.O., appeared before the same Bench on a similar charge. It was stated that he had already been prosecuted for not registering under a previous Order and also for failing to give particulars after conviction. He was not doing voluntary fire-guard duty. Saying that the present conviction would enable him to be enrolled for fire-guard duty, the chairman, after consulting her colleagues, announced that Kenneth Sibley would also be fined half-a-crown.

C.O.s threatened with similar prosecutions after being prosecuted for not registering under a previous Order are advised to get into touch with the Secretary of the CBCO.

After complying with a direction to do 48 hours' duty a month as a part-time member of the NFS, Miss Marie Cronin Lett, of Highgate, decided she had a conscientious objection to the work. This was stated at Clerkenwell police court when she appeared on a summons for being absent from duty without reasonable excuse (reported the Hornsey Journal, Feb. 18).

Miss Lett told the court she was determined never to be a member of the NFS and was fined £5, or one month's imprisonment. She refused to pay the fine.

The CBCO is a distributor of the new Strickland Press pamphlet, "Conscientious Objectors," comprising a copy of the Duke of Bedford's Speech on C.O.s in the House of Lords on Jan. 18 with the text of Lord Croft's reply for the Government. The price is 2d. (by post 3d.) from CBCO, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

FROM CONCENTRATION CAMP TO BRITISH PRISON

The story of Willy R. Sussbach, a minister of the German Evangelical Church and a pacifist, who was sent to a concentration camp three times by the Nazis and once beaten up by Storm Troopers; then, in 1939, came to Britain at the invitation of the Bishop of Chichester, volunteered for non-combatant service with the British Army, and afterwards underwent a change of heart when the Allies began their "obliteration" air attacks, is among the interesting features of the CBCO Bulletin for February, just published (price 3d.).

Pastor Sussbach has now been discharged from the Army and recommended to take up land or hospital work—but not before he had been court-martialled three times, though the first two sentences were remitted.

Words of Peace—62

BETRAYAL

I FEEL like asking the Secretary of State for War to get the boys who went across the water together where I could go and see them. I would stand up before them and say, "Boys, I told you before you went across the seas that this was a war to end war and I did my best to fulfil that promise, but I am obliged to come to you in mortification and shame and say that I have not been able to fulfil that promise. Boys, you are betrayed. You fought for something you did not get and the glory of the armies and navies of the United States is gone like a dream in the night."

—Woodrow Wilson, 1919: Quoted by Rhys Davies in the House of Commons, Dec. 17, 1943.

BERTRAND RUSSELL IS RETURNING

Bertrand Russell, the 71-year-old philosopher who played a leading part in the pacifist movement during the last war, and was a sponsor of the PPU in its early days, is expecting to return to England soon to take up an appointment at Trinity College, Cambridge.

Reporting an interview with him at Princetown, USA, in the Evening Standard on Feb. 7, F.J.G.A. Cook wrote:

"I turned our talk to his departure from Trinity in 1918, and diffidently mentioned the word 'pacifism.' Bertrand Russell sighed wearily. 'I am not a pacifist,' he said. 'I never really was. All I say is that some wars are avoidable, some are defensible, and some are not. I did not believe the last war was defensible, and I still don't.'"

"PEACE NOW"

The "Peace Now" organization which, as reported in PN on Feb. 4, has opened a campaign in the USA to bring about a negotiated peace, has been declared to be un-American and guilty of seditious acts which tend towards treason, in a report by the Dies Committee in Washington on Feb. 16, after it had investigated the movement's activities.

(The Dies Committee is a Committee of the American Congress. It has no executive authority.)

A meeting on "The Need for a Negotiated Peace" will be held in the Friends' Meeting House, Manchester, on Mar. 10, at 7 p.m. Speakers will be Rhys J. Davies, MP, and James H. Hudson. Douglas J. J. Owen will be in the chair. The organizers are the Manchester Agreed Peace Committee.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

ACCOMMODATION

SMALL unfurnished room wanted near centre London. 16 Belmont Hall Court, Belmont Hill, S.E.13.

YOUNG PACIFIST COUPLE urgently need rooms in Oxford. Can pay £2 2s. per week. Any offers? Box 336.

C.O. AND WIFE offer bed-sitting room, full board. Near station, buses. Brown, 23 Dorset Av., Welling, Kent.

SCHOOLTEACHER AND WIFE (C.O.s) urgently require furnished or semi-furnished flat or rooms, 10-mile radius Coventry. Box 337.

C.O.s contemplating, or engaged on, agricultural work in Surrey and requiring accommodation with others similarly engaged, are invited to write, Secretary, Land Unit, Friends' Meeting House, Reigate. Work is obtainable in vicinity. A cook-house-keeper is also required (male pref.).

UNFURNISHED COTTAGE or from 2 or 4 un-furnished rooms wanted by 2 pacifist business men (bachelors). Rural area anywhere within 150 miles of London. Write full particulars Box 324.

WANTED. House rent or purchase. Flat or rooms. Leamington, Warwick or district. Box 338.

YOUNG C.O., wife and child (11 mths.), recently bombed out, urgently require 8 or 4 roomed flat Hornsey, Barnet, Potters Bar. Box 339.

LONDON AREA: business man requires a good kindly home for 3-year-old daughter and self, widower aged 54 years. Telephone and garage an advantage. Good terms offered. Please write to Mr. E. Alexander, 26 Half Moon St., London, W.1.

TO LET or would share alternate week-ends, furnished Tudor cottage Boxen, 3 1/2 m. bus. int. san., pretty garden, cheap. Box 384.

EDUCATIONAL

BURGESS HILL SCHOOL will open in May a senior branch for day children from 9-18 at 11, 12 and 13 Oak Hill Park, N.W.3. Boarders 5-11 plus remain at Cranleigh. High standard academic subjects, art and music. Inquiries for both schools to the Secretary, Redhurst, Cranleigh, Surrey.

FOR SALE AND WANTED

LAMB BRAND typewriter ribbons. Cleanest, clearest, longest, 3s. 6d. each, postage paid; 10s. three; 18s. 6d. six. Name models, colours, Peace News. Hardman and Sons, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

HALL-MARKED silver tankards, cutlery, ladies' and gents' diamond rings, bead necklets, gold neckchains, silver cigarette cases, 400 various watches, diamond brooches, sovereign and 4-sovereign rings, and earrings. Lighters, leather zip handbags. Silver handbags and large quantity of other goods to be sold owing to the death of proprietor. Lists 1s. post free or S.A.E. Postcards ignored. J. Elkan, 22 High Street West, Glossop, Derbyshire.

DICK SHEPPARD CLUB, 123 1/2 Union St., Aberdeen, urgently wants loan, buy or donations furniture and furnishings. Please communicate with Mrs. Grant, 52 Elmbank Terrace, Aberdeen. Phone 6146.

SIGNET, DIAMOND and various rings, gents' wrist and pocket watches in chromium silver, stainless steel 9 and 18 ct. gold. Bangles, bracelets, watch Alberts light and heavy patterns in 9, 15 and 18 ct. gold. Mounted sovereigns and halves. Quality brooches, necklets, gold neckchains, gold crosses, solid silver and electro plate, and large assortment of other goods to be sold owing to death of proprietor. Lists 1s. post free or S.A.E. Postcards ignored. J. Elkan, 22 High Street West, Glossop, Derbyshire.

PIANO ACCORDIONS for sale, exchanged, wanted; list, (Dept. 4) Accordion Repairers, 9a High St., Barnstaple, Devon.

OUR 1944 Seed Catalogue now ready. Write for your copy. Rule Seedsman, Newman St., Shirley, Southampton.

300,000 NEW TYPE ECONOMY LABELS with Esperanto propaganda. Various wordings. No envelope needed—just seal notepaper. Or seal flap of new envelope without gumming it. 10s. 6d., 1,000; 1s. 6d. 100. Samples 6d. All profits to our campaign. Wandsworth Borough Esperanto Institute, Hon. Org., W. J. Bridgen, Dept. W.249, 125 Drakefield Road, Tooting, S.W.17.

LITERATURE, etc.

ARE YOU interested in international war resistance? Groups are invited to write to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex, for specimen literature describing the International's activities. The W.R.I. can also supply speakers to address P.P.U. and other pacifist groups on its work.

CHRIST IS COMING. Interesting new Booklet on what must come to pass first, 6d. post free from Secretary, Prophetic League, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden, Surrey.

"CHRISTIANITY in the post-war world," by the Rev. R. H. Le Mesurier. Post-free price 10d. 12 copies 6s. 6d. 47 Argyle Sq., London, W.C.1.

GIFT FOR C.O.s in prison. "How Green Was My Valley." Relatives write, Marshall, 21 Wheatlands Drive, Bradford, Yorks.

BOOKS LOANED to C.O.s on land, etc., without obligation. Write for list Marshall as above.

BERNARD SHAW writes on conscientious objection: another scoop for the live C.O.s' paper, 4d., or 4s. per year post paid. "The Tribunal," 119 Perry Vale, London, S.E.23.

MEETINGS, etc.

GEORGE FOX and the Rise of the Quakers. Public lunch-hour address, Friends House, Euston Road, N.W.1. by John L. Nickalls, Mar. 7, at 1.20 p.m.

PROF. DENIS SAURAT on "Federation for Western Europe?" Kingsway Hall, W.C.2, Fri., Mar. 10, at 1.10 p.m. Admission free. National Peace Council.

DR. BELDEN at Kettering. Public meeting Stamford Rd. Schools, Sat., 2.30 p.m., Mar. 11. Chairman, Councillor John Dempsey.

NORTH LONDON Region: from March, breakfasts will be held the last instead of the first Sunday in the month. Next breakfast Mar. 26, at Independent Church, Knight's Lane, Edmonton, N.9, at 8.30 a.m.

MIDLAND Pacifist Fellowship: Sun., Mar. 5, 3 p.m., Selly Oak Friends' Meeting House, Winifred Rawlins, "The Quaker Witness for Peace."

PAT FIGGIS at Epsom, Sat., Mar. 11, 3.15 p.m., Sandown Lodge, Worples Rd. All welcome. P.P.U.

JOSEPHINE JEMMETT on "Is Pacifism Enough?" 8 Endsleigh Gdns., 3.30 p.m., Sat., Mar. 4. Discussion conducted by Frederick Lohr.

CHANTICLEER THEATRE Club, Clareville St., S.W.3 (Glouce. Rd. and S. Ken. Tubes). Opening Mar. 14. "Hundred Years Old" by Quintero. Tues. to Sat. evngs. 5.30 p.m. Thur., Sat. and Sun. mats. 2.15 p.m. Mems. only. Details KEN 7577.

ADELPHI THEATRE, W., Sun., Mar. 19, at 2.30 p.m. First performance of "A Child of Our Time"—oratorio by Michael Tippett. Soloists: Joan Cross, Margaret McArthur, Peter Pears, and Norman Walker. Civil Defence and Morley College Choirs. London Philharmonic Orchestra conducted by Walter Goehr. Tickets from Box Office, Adelphi Theatre.

CARDIFF, Friends House, Mar. 14, 7.30 p.m. Dr. J. Bernard Phillips on "A Problem of Post-War Europe." P.P.U.

PERSONAL

B.A. (Cantab.) triple hons., author lecturer, desires suitable partner (lady) pioneer co-ed. venture. Box 335.

MR. AND MRS. F. Castle of Orpington have pleasure in advising friends of the birth on Feb. 17 of John Raymond.

MEMBERS of the London Co-operative Society wishing to sign the Armistice resolution being submitted to the London Co-operative Society's half-yearly meeting should communicate with Will Coppin, 130 Ba four Rd., Ilford. The last date for signing will be Mar. 20—so do it now.

MANCHESTER and District C.O.s Six men (old or young) urgently needed for voluntary service with the Babies' Hospital Pacifist Fire Squad one night weekly. Apply 15 Dean Drive, Wilmslow, Manchester.

SITUATIONS VACANT

C.P.P.L.U. have need of male C.P. land workers to complete Units in 3 hostels. One not under E.W.O. Groups of 4 or 5 friends could apply. Write Sec., Room 16, Kingsway Hall, London, W.C.2.

SPARE TIME purchased. Clerical assistance all grades. Preferably with fair standard typing. Odd half-days, or evenings. Any arrangement of time, large or small. Reasonable industry, moderate intelligence and good co-operation. Hourly rate 1s. 6d. to 2s. Phone BRI 3472, 6513, or TUL 3653.

SEMI-PROFESSIONALS, travelling puppet theatre, urgently require young man, keen dramatics, good speaking voice. Further particulars, Lewis, 7 Victoria Terrace, Walsall.

ASSISTANT MASTER, Secondary School, Yorks. Mathematics and science to Higher Certificate standard. Permanent post. Box 295.

FOOTWEAR. Capable man or woman required for managing position; experience preferred, but not essential. N. London area. Apply, stating particulars and salary required, to Box 340.

STAFF REQUIRED for young people's community and club. Status of equality; interesting activities. Salary, single divan room and full board. Duties include light domestic, vegetarian cooking etc. Suit girl registered for social or hostel work. Apply Organizing Secretary, Youth House, 250 Camden Rd., N.W.1.

WANTED IN MAY for progressive co-educational school, French teacher to University Scholarship standard. Good German or History an advantage. Box 345.

OWING TO Albert Tomlinson's having been accepted for work abroad with I.V.S.P., inquiries are invited concerning post of secretary to Development Committee. Write General Secretary, P.P.U., 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

IF YOU WANT your manuscripts accurately typed, send them to us! Reasonable charges. Box 341.

AUTHOR, accurate typist, with experience of historical and scientific work, would undertake copying and arranging of MSS, so as to continue literary work for which exempted. Box 344.

PACIFIST, 25, Honours Law Tripos Cambridge, inexperienced, seeks work legal office any post. Exemption suitable. Box 342.

MISCELLANEOUS

GROUP MEDITATION (London). Yoga and Heard-Huxley theories. Active proponents, write Bragg, Mer-ville, 105 Tulse Hill, S.W.2.

LARGES, PRESTWICK: Universal Friendship League Holiday Houses. Sea, sun-bathing; garden; excellent cooking facilities. Forewords, culture, kindness. Correspondence. New summer class, Wednesdays, middle-April (Saturdays, Sundays, full), social, serious; learn Esperanto. Stamped addressed envelope. Katharine MacDonald, Naturopath, Psychologist, 6 Lansdowne Cres., Glasgow. (Both sexes, all ages.)

Lesson of the Kirkcaldy By-election

"SCAPEGOATS CATCH VOTES"

By DONALD PORT

(Agent for Henry Hilditch, Christian Socialist Candidate in the recent by-election at Kirkcaldy)

IT seems possible that, even in this apocalyptic year, it requires the campaigning of a good reactionary Tory to rouse the British electorate. Certainly, at Kirkcaldy, only the Scottish National press showed an appreciation of the significance of recent by-election results. Yet the poll was surprising enough to repay an analysis of the forces at work. Before considering the Scottish Nationalist vote, however—and this was the most significant aspect of the result—it would be profitable to take stock of the forces that were not at work.

Henry Hilditch got only 1,136 votes because the people were not prepared to accept the idea of a negotiated peace. It is as well that that should be said plainly. In every other respect, his programme commended him to the working-class folk and not a few Party members were at pains to say they regarded him as the best socialist in the field. They thought highly of his working-class record; they deplored, with him, the reactionary domestic policy of the present government; they seconded his denunciations of the negotiations with Badoglio and the bombing of the revolutionary workers of northern Italy; they shared his aspirations for a people's peace; and they did not vote for him.

TOO MUCH FOR THEM

They did not vote for him, you may say, because of party loyalty. That is partly true. Party loyalty did not save the Cavendish seat, however: there the Labour electorate was in revolt. The plain fact of the matter is that, at Kirkcaldy, Henry Hilditch asked a little too much of them; and that too much was represented by his demand for a negotiated peace.

For it is not merely the Conservative and Labour Parties which have declared for "unconditional surrender." Virtually all the dissident left-wing groups pay their tribute to Churchill as a great war leader. Hilditch had, perforce, to modify his tribute. He had to say that political struggles can only be won by people who have a clear political aim. He asked the electorate to believe that constructive planning for the peace is not only more worthy of a democracy than is a policy of military annihilation; he suggested that it is more efficacious. He asked the electorate to demand of the Government the statement of terms which would hold out some hope to Europe and the world of a socialist and Christian peace.

The vote of the Scottish Nationalist demands consideration, not only because he had the support of many pacifists, but because, starting with virtually little constituency support, he built a poll almost large enough to win the seat.

It would be as well to begin by acknowledging the potency of nationalism as a revolu-

tionary alternative to imperialism. In Ireland, in Korea, in India, and in many European countries nationalism is, or has been, the foster-parent of liberal politics. It is also unfortunately true that nationalism has a less commendable contemporary record. For that reason, it seems quite clear that great integrity of leadership is required to prevent a nationalist movement being used for power purposes or sectarian politics. I find it impossible to concede that the Scottish Nationalist Party provided such leadership in the Kirkcaldy campaign.

The electors were invited to "Stop the Shift South"; they were urged to "Keep your job in Scotland"; they were told of their exploitation by Englishmen; they were told indeed that the deportation of Scots to England paralleled the deportation of Poles in Europe (Methil speech, reported in the Leven Mail Nov. 3); they were called to a Scottish war effort under Scottish control; and, in a space of three months, 6,600 of them fell for the argument.

Now this is significant, not chiefly because the politics they were offered were superficial (there were not even adroit references to Scottish culture), but because they were offered and accepted a scapegoat. Scapegoats catch votes. The Jewish scapegoat caught Hitler votes. The Nazi scapegoat ensures the continuance of the present government. Mr. Young almost sold the Kirkcaldy electors a new scapegoat. Here is demonstrated the wisdom of Henry Hilditch in basing his socialism on Christianity. For, historically, scapegoats are only necessary when a people are not at peace with God.

GRIM FAMINE SURVEY

Greece still is in the worst condition. The 15,000 tons of wheat sent each month from Canada and other countries is "only a drop in the bucket." Peasants can get by, but those in cities are on the verge of starvation, with the situation similar to the winter of 1942, when as many as 2,000 persons perished daily.

Belgium is almost as badly off as Greece because of the need for feed imports, cut off by war.

French food supplies are low, with the populace by and large getting only a ration of about 1,150 calories daily.

THESE are the grim high-spots in an authoritative survey of the European food situation, issued on Jan. 8 by the American Institute of Food Distribution.

It is significant that in this country the only passage of the survey reproduced in the Press was the rather optimistic forecasts of the speed with which European agriculture could be rehabilitated. In the Associated Press version of the survey, as it appeared in the USA Press of Jan. 9-10, this occupies only one paragraph, and the great majority of the material relates to the urgent immediate needs of some European countries. The institute is described as a "non-profit research agency."

Results of Churchill's Policy

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

FOR this victory—barrenly and narrowly conceived as "the unconditional surrender" of Germany—two things have been deemed necessary by Churchill. Directly, the utmost possible devastation of Germany; indirectly, the maintenance of "friendship" with USSR. This "friendship" is a false thing. On Churchill's part there is no "friendship" in it. It is a means to the end: victory. An expedient in the great game of war. To maintain this military alliance, Britain's good name must be sacrificed.

And all for nothing. This open cynicism has no end. It multiplies itself. It will increase the contempt of Russia for us. Stalin has always believed Britain had no principles. Now Churchill has set himself to prove it. Something drives him on to compass, in the climax of one mortal career, the material and moral downfall of his country. We could have descended to the ranks of the second-rate Powers with honour. The moral leadership of

STILL GOING UP!

WE printed 18,250 copies of last week's issue of Peace News—the highest weekly printing figure for a four-page issue since the end of 1941. It reflects the steadily growing demand for the paper which we have experienced since the beginning of the year, when various improvements were made. Last week's record figure shows an increase of 600 over the figure for the last week of 1943. But we can still comfortably supply another thousand readers out of our present quota of newsprint. Will you help us to keep the printing figure on its present upward course?

Make Peace News as widely known as you possibly can among people likely to be interested. In many cases you only have to let others know about it to gain new regular readers.

RELIGION'S ROLE IN RECONSTRUCTION

PROFESSOR John Macmurray, speaking on "The Religious Issue in Reconstruction" at a National Peace Council meeting in London on Friday, said the major factor in determining the course of history was an unconscious one—the momentum and inertia of social habit.

No plan which was in conflict with the habits of common life could possibly succeed, however excellent it might be in itself. Like all established systems of habit, it could only be changed radically under the pressure of extreme necessity. When it was frustrated by the organizations of conscious social life the result was a revolution.

This was happening in our time, but now on a world scale, through the way in which the different systems of common life impinged upon and frustrated one another. This world revolution moves towards the creation of a unified common life of the world which could carry a world order.

PLACE OF RELIGION

The creation of a tradition of common life was a religious task. Christianity created the unity of the common life of our own civilization. Could it now do the same for the world as a whole? That was the religious issue in reconstruction.

There was a real possibility, said Professor Macmurray, of an affirmative answer. The missionary movement has planted Christian communities throughout the world, and in non-Christian countries their influence was out of all proportion to their numbers. There was in Christianity a continuous drive towards a unification of mankind in a single brotherhood, which continues to be a powerful psychological force.

Christianity, too, was not European in origin. It represented the spiritual conquest of Europe by the religious genius of the Jews. European Christianity was what we had made of Christianity, and that had involved a compromise with the tradition of classical paganism which results in the idealization and spiritualization of religion, to keep it from controlling the practical field of the common life of secular society.

The social background of common life in which Christianity would find its full meaning had been preserved only in the Jewish tradition, and only in its fulness could Christianity accomplish the task of world unification.

For this reason the central religious issue in post-war reconstruction was the Jewish problem. We stood against that Hitler stands for. Hitler stands for "the true Christianity against the Jewish materialism," which he identified with Bolshevism. This meant that he stood against the materialization of Christianity. To defeat him utterly we had to solve the Jewish question; but that could only be solved, as Marx once said, in the solution of the whole human question.

The first performance of Michael Tippett's new oratorio, "A Child of Our Time," will be given at the Royal Adelphi Theatre, London, at 2.30 p.m. on Mar. 19.

"Why Were We Banned?"

POLISH EDITOR PROTESTS

We have received the following letter from Zigmunt Nowakowski, the editor of Wiadomosci Polskie, the Polish newspaper in Britain from which the authorities have withdrawn publishing facilities.

IN view of the many misapprehensions concerning the censorship to which our paper was submitted, I avail myself of this opportunity to explain some of the circumstances and to outline in a few words the development of relations between the censorship and Wiadomosci Polskie.

In the early spring of 1942 the printers by whom our paper was produced were instructed to send direct to the censorship every proof of all material without exception. This order was issued direct to the printers without any preliminary mention to the editor of the paper. At the same time an official telephoned to the foreman composer that he would maintain direct contact with him in order to make such changes and omissions as seemed proper. Only after our protest at such a cavalier arrangement was this method of censorship reconsidered.

Since then our mutual relations have been of the best, and we have complied in the most loyal manner with every wish indicated by the censorship, which from first to last has been not as has been stated of a purely security character but applied also, and very strictly, to political matters and matters connected with the Polish cause. This willing co-operation on our part continued, although we were sometimes required to suppress whole articles at the shortest possible notice. In spite of the difficulties entailed we have always abided by instructions, and our files offer proof that no article has appeared without the stamp "Passed as Censored."

On some occasions the reason for some alteration or suppression was quite obscure to us, as, for example, when we were required to eliminate a whole sentence from a reprint of an article appearing the same week in a London paper.

So exacting was the censorship that it took exception to the phrase "a piece of paper" with which the editor described the Polish-Russian Agreement, and we were instructed to say "a document" instead. Also, for example, when we published an article dealing with the sufferings of the Poles in Russia it was not allowed to mention that these sufferings were "appalling and groundless."

This pettiness on the part of the censorship went so far on one occasion as to ask us not to reprint an item from a London daily which quoted the speech of an American senator in which he defended the right of Poland to her Eastern frontier.

The official statement from the censorship as quoted in the Daily Telegraph announced that all these demands were merely of an advisory character. This being so, we feel our attitude of loyal compliance to be the more laudable. We are quite unable to understand why, since the Ministry of Information, as it states, advised us in doubtful cases considering the elimination or modification of articles regarded as harmful to the cause of the United Nations—advice with which we never failed to comply—why, in these circumstances, our paper has been banned.

Mr. Sbarounis, deputy Greek delegate on UNRRA, has estimated that "out of a total population of 8,000,000 over 1,000,000 were believed to be in a 'pre-tuberculous' state, and 2,000,000 were suffering from chronic malaria." He emphasized the danger to the whole future life of the Greek people by the following grim comparison: in 1939 the excess of births over deaths in Athens-Piraeus was 5,369, but in 1942 deaths exceeded births by 30,531.

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Address: The Rev. Martin Tupper, Hon. General Secretary, A.P.F., 1 Adelaide St., Charing Cross, London, W.C.2.

New Pamphlets

PEACE NOW—AT WHAT PRICE?

By The Rev. Wyons Mauleverer and Margaret V. Travers. 2d.

THE UNITY OF THE ALTAR

By a member of the A.P.F. 3d.

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by "Peace News" Ltd. Printed by Chifford Printing Co. (T.U.), London, N.16.

THOSE DISUNITED STATES

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

latter has infuriated the Southern "Democrats."

But the upshot of it all is going to be very serious. The American Legion of ex-Servicemen was a powerful and disruptive factor in post-1918 politics: a legion of 10 millions, deliberately disfranchised, will be pure dynamite. The other day Chas. E. Wilson, ex-President of the great General Electric Co., and vice-President of the War Production Board (WPB) addressed the annual convention of the National Association of Manufacturers. His words made unorthodox and painful hearing for that confraternity of Big Business men.

"I know of no other period in American history, except perhaps the Civil War, when there has been so much need for unity in the country and so few signs of it. . . . Many of us in the 1930's feared that a left-wing reaction would draw Labour so far away from the main body of American sentiment that the gap could not be closed without a disastrous struggle. . . . I am deeply alarmed today over the possibility that a right-wing reaction may draw some sections of capital so far away from our traditions as to imperil the entire structure of American life as we know it."

That, also, is the voice of Big Business; but it is sane and moderate and correspondingly ominous.

No-one who knows the lurking violence of USA would summarily dismiss Mr. Wilson's hint of the possibility of civil war after the war. But even those who take a more sanguine view of the cleavages now developing will be profoundly sceptical of there being sufficient political unity in USA to make possible any sustained participation in the organization of post-war peace. History looks like repeating itself: only this time not France will be led up the garden; but ourselves.